175 /130 cont./ In the period after 1905, when complaints
177 registered with the officials of the Inland Administration were
648 acted upon, the leaders of such groups, even those of high
669 nobility, were increasingly restricted in their movements. It became apparent that they were not safe before the administration officials if someone had registered a complaint about them. Very slowly, often unconsciously, the realization must have dawned upon them, that they had to choose between submission to the rules of the new order, which the government upheld, and resistance against this same government.

175 The activities of those who chose resistance became
648 increasingly more distinct from those of the first mentioned.
669 Those who continued to resist were forced to withdraw gradually with their followers into districts beyond easy access until they were finally taken prisoner or killed, after having been forced completely into the defensive and having been labeled bandit chieftain or gang leader. Such was the end of men like daëng Pabarang in the western part of Bone around 1910, and like Tolo (1) in Polombangkeng /131/ in 1915.

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1. "In the second quarter of the year mentioned (1915), the number of robberies increased disquietingly through the appearance of a number of notorious gang leaders in the former province of Goa. Among these leaders there belong Tolo and his dreaded lieutenants, Basareng, Baso Patjiro Daëng Mapata, (constituting part of the Goa royal family) Radjamang,

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/131 cont./ Djappa, Bakka (the two last mentioned had been armed police servants and instructors in the use of firearms), and Abbassa Daëng Manromo Karaëng Biladji, stepbrother of Goa's previous prince. In a comparatively small region, these persons committed no less than 130 lootings over a period of a few months. The brutalities frequently committed by them in broad daylight were indescribable since they were convinced that, even if they were recognized, nobody would dare betray them. The native heads, including many regents, paid them royal respects, presented them with horses, and organized feasts at their arrival for which buffaloes and horses were slaughtered. In many districts a system of contributions, a tax, was even introduced which safeguarded the payer against inconvenience." Eerdmans, p. 1078.

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They had become figures who no longer fitted into a social system that was based on the ideas of peace and order, legal security, and personal safety, upheld by the government (1).

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1. Through a series of special

527 /148 cont./ dressed in red jackets, nicely made-up, and
571 decked with jewelry, pounding with precise movements, eyes cast down. After some time they are replaced. Under the surveillance of a couple of older women, four others descend from the house and take over the pounders while the first team again goes up, always with an escort and with eyes cast down. From behind the barred windows of the front rooms -- on this occasion the entire house is the domain of the women -- they peep outside when in the half-light of the yard the men walk around, sit, talk, and smoke (1).

[273]

[554]

1. Little drinking is done. If there is rice wine (ballo'ase) present, the number of bottles is limited. Only the higher guests receive a bottle and share some of this with the others. Serious drunkenness does not occur. Makassarese who drink ballo' proceed to tell taller and taller tales and become increasingly provocative in their remarks. At such times they avoid the company of a higher person.

527 It is reported that formerly a group of young men from
● 579 another kampong, attracted by the provocative sounds, would
177 once in awhile make an attack and try to run away with one
571 of the young girls. This would then give rise to a general brawl. The young men of the house group would then defend their young sisters and cousins against an attack from outside. Nowadays such a thing no longer occurs. The festival has become a comparatively dull display since fighting and

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
● 579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

554 /211 cont./ Indonesian word malu. An attempt at definition will be made below. For the sake of clarity, however, I have left the term untranslated in a number of cases.
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impaired and when another person knows this.

A man is inclined to regard immediately as outdoing any accidental event at an encounter, or a lucky word on his part, by which he raises himself above the other person, at least in his own eyes. The other, when he hears this, is also siri'.

The reaction may consist of a counterchallenge, a returned insult, by which the original challenger in his turn becomes siri'. It is never possible to determine precisely who "began." The mutual opposition is sometimes explained by an event from the past that is regarded as of great importance, for instance, a murder. But with that the question concerning the origin of the mutual opposition is merely put off.

There exists the possibility that the outdone person will
● [578] respond by stabbing. The consequence of outdoing can therefore never be foreseen. It remains charged with real danger. Many stabbing brawls in South Celebes are proof of that.

/212/ One of the most spectacular challenges is the theft
554 of cattle, horses, or buffalo. Its purpose is, in the first instance,
571 to show one's courage (kaporeanna); only in a few cases are
685 economic motives at the bottom of this. Sometimes a warning is uttered beforehand: "I am coming" (that is to say, "to
[578] steal your buffalo"). Stealing cattle is done to find a reason for a brawl. A successful buffalo theft is considered a triumph and at the same time a challenge. A cattle theft at the expense of the prince is therefore a great insult.